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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man alone restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If such names are not returned for several generations quarrels are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has received the names through aid given to the "last" of the family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[1] Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Yuquot* Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. At *lehqi* especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[1] This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

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He is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for foot covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.[1] He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in *swaok* ritual (see Plate 12). These whistles, called *qomo·ts*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *sloptsta*, the "heart" or "wind" of a chief; a third designation is *nuhwinuts*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "belt goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a belt before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

[1] Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were cornered by dogs, and choked to death in nooses. For presentation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

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ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative.

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay these. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to hoard goods until he is able to repay with great increase, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller affair at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though that can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *kusiut* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *kusiut* period, but in that case the only foods available are olachen grease, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried hemlock-bark, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point.

When all is ready X tells a herald (I, p. 244) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *sdâctmus*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so.

The next morning no one eats in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. Pre-

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[532] [575] [781] The *sîki* returns to the house and tells the guests that *Mdlakila* has indeed been near and has promised to return later on. Those who are not *nusuk*, being steeped in the belief concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully coagulated whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *sîki*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE INITIATION OF *Nusuk* NEOPHYTES

[556] [575] [609] At a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign guests, but it is unthinkable for the donor to give to his fellow-villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the *nusuk* society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,[1] X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing those, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relatives, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

He approaches the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the [553] social advantage of a young person to be a *nusuk*, a father usually tells X a *nusuk* name, dormant in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

[424] [1] In spite of the care exercised, mistakes are frequent, giving rise to heated harangues from friends to make up the necessary amount.

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553 without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to
556 direct the distribution of the money. This speaker orates how
575 X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted
[537] station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength to the name *Qwaqwasila*, for example, X will give away, say $100. He further announces who have contributed this amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives everyone the same amount; men sometimes receive more than [562] women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians, [803] so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out [424] he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be [578] an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will use the surplus in making presents to the more influential guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

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not returnable by X to his wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment-gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations.

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what names, portions of myth-prerogatives, or other privileges she is bestowing on her husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night.

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he busies himself recounting and making final plans for its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, accurate division of goods at a potlatch causes considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. A slighted guest will feel aggrieved, and the sacred nature of the rite will have been subjected to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign guests as witnesses to the transaction. X always endeavours to reimburse with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage; but if he can restore only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest.

In Kimsquit it was customary at this stage of the proceed-

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* 556 skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of
465 X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[a] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	20.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[b]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room[c]	40.00

[435] An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

•426 The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X
*556 has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 232). This is known as *lisdjut*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people
[867] associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[532] [a] When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering passage is
[342] X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[b] Four men would work together on this task.

[c] Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

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he may now repay with one hundred and fifty blankets. The amount of the original present will be announced, so that it is made known that he is repaying with 50 per cent interest. This completes the transaction. The man who receives the additional fifty blankets is not required to repay these, though he may endeavour to do so, should he wish to add to his own fame. It is sufficient if X pays back the principal only, though in that case he does not increase his prestige. No claim is ever made for the repayment of an investment present; repayment is so obviously to the advantage of the debtor that there is no necessity for dunning. A man who did so would expose himself to the ridicule of the community; it would demonstrate that he thought in terms of goods, whereas a chief is expected to give presents as if they were a mere nothing.

On rare occasions a chief has been unable to repay his investment presents. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Bella chief, aided by his son, prepared to give a potlatch, and the news spread far and wide. But during the summer the young man accidentally shot himself while deer-hunting. The father realized that, bereft of his son's assistance, he would be unable to repay even the principal of his indebtedness. He wept with grief. A disgrace of this kind affects the man and all who are in any way related to him, so he called upon his relatives, and they gave him sufficient money to save the situation. In such a case, nobody is compelled to contribute aid, but a feeling of compassion is at work, as well as a vague sense of family pride. One Bella Coola gave this chief $10, although all that was remembered about his relationship to the Bella Bella man was that one of his ancestors had married a woman from the village of the Bella Bella chief. Particular inquiries were made to ascertain whether or not the disgrace of failure to repay would fall on the ancestral family and whether they were legally bound to contribute. Such is decidedly not the Bella Coola concept; only feelings of pride and affection govern the contributions. Assistance of that kind is given without witnesses,

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hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the standing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no return, but should he come to financial straits he would have no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without effect on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is considered most improper for the creditors to think about repayment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his investment presents except through oversight. In spite of every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Imqumdaiaxte* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1911, a Bella Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the presence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

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Bella Coola, the Bella Bella should have taken this into account, along with the man's generosity on previous occasions, and overlooked his remissness.

Cases have been known of a "stupid" man endeavouring to increase his prestige by giving many potlatches when unable to pay his debts. Such a one is laughed at for his stinginess, which is not the attribute of a chief, and is given only small presents.

It must be clearly understood that debts publicly incurred, in other words investment presents received at any ceremony, must be publicly returned, if the debtor is to gain the public esteem granted to one who pays back with interest. But everyone cannot give a potlatch; hence any young man desirous of returning his obligations, and of rising in public favour, can do so at a potlatch given by somebody else. Guests are present from abroad, so his discharge of indebtedness is made known farther afield than if he had done so at a local gathering, and the donor has the additional satisfaction of being able to give to these strangers. Sometimes as many as ten young men will ask X for permission to pay their debts at his potlatch. Such is never refused, because it means more ceremonial, and greater interest, which indirectly increase X's prestige. A young man who has been taken to a foreign potlatch as an adherent of a guest always receives presents, and if he repays these with interest his name begins to become known, especially as his return payments are unexpected. It is thus that a man whose chiefly name (or names) has been dormant for generations, can begin to restore it. Thanks to presents he gives at X's potlatch, he will in return receive large gifts, until finally he is able to give a potlatch himself. After X has paid his own indebtedness the debts of others are settled. In each case the speaker announces the amount received on such and such an occasion and the amount returned. Thus all present are able to estimate the generosity of the payer, a chiefly attribute. When a young man plans to give his first potlatch it is customary for the older chiefs of his village to advise whether he has

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sufficient goods, though every man is understood to be master of his own affairs.

After paying his debts X still has many heavy expenses in connection with the *nusol* initiates, and the young people for whom he is obtaining seats. Goods for these purposes have been put on one side. The remainder he now proceeds to give away as investment presents. His exhibition of ancestral prerogatives, and the guise in which his ancestors are now living, as eagle, raven, whale, or such like, have been duly validated by the presents given on the preceding evening, and his social status has been cared for by the payments to his craftsmen and other creditors. Thus investment presents are not essential, though a man always endeavours to give them, both for economic and social reasons. There are no definite laws regarding their distribution. X is guided in his choice of recipients[*] by the following considerations:

(1) If a certain chief is likely to give a potlatch soon he knows that a present given him will be returned with interest.

(2) He desires to give something to a chief from whom he has often received favours.

(3) He wishes to ingratiate himself with a powerful chief by presents.

(4) He wishes to give presents to a chief with whom he is not on friendly terms. Unless the latter reciprocates, it will be considered that X has shown his superiority.

(5) Usually an important chief will receive more valuable presents than one of lesser rank. This custom is not governed by any fixed scale, and an important chief may be deliberately slighted, if X thinks that he has not shown him, X, sufficient respect.

It is considered the height of folly to give presents without due regard to their return.

The amount of gifts depends entirely on the wealth and desires of X. If he wishes to increase his fame, he will endea-

[*] Only one present is given to each man, irrespective of the number of names he may have. The Kwakiutl are said to give a gift for each designation.

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vour to give valuable presents, but he need not give any. It is a deep disgrace to any man to be unable to return these presents. Nothing is said, nor does the donor take active steps to receive his returns, but the influence of the recipient perceptibly wanes. It is expected that a heavier rate of interest will be paid on presents received many years before repayment, but again this is a matter of individual volition. The debts of a man who dies while owing for goods received at potlatches are scrupulously discharged by his family. If they fail to do so, their own influence is lessened.

One method of reducing the value of an investment present can be used by a man who feels unable to repay a large gift. The uncle of an elderly Bella Coola was once guest at a Kimsquit potlatch, where he received, as an investment present, a fine large canoe and two hundred blankets. Not wishing to incur so large a liability he at once returned fifty of the blankets to his host for distribution among the guests. Consequently, he was expected to make return for only one hundred and fifty blankets, with whatever interest he desired. This action tended to lower his prestige, since it acknowledged his inability or unwillingness to repay his present. The chief in question, being firmly established in his chiefly status, did not fear to do this, though one of lesser rank would have hesitated to confess his inferiority.

It is on the value of the goods distributed in these three types of presentation; namely, recompense for work done, repayment of debts, and investment presents, that the importance of the potlatch, and consequently of X himself, is virtually judged. These distributions of presents are for the potlatch as a whole, including the return of the dead and the intangible prestige of X; the donations which follow are to validate specific transactions which can be omitted. In one or two families the whole course of the potlatch is changed, since the members have the prerogative of distributing their presents outside the house. In such a case the giving is done during the day instead of at night. Details of this ritual,

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556
[426] which is said to have come as a prerogative obtained through
[184] marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.
[424] After the distribution of investment presents comes the strengthening of X's seat.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is pretended they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near
[203] the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a *sɪsaok* head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on this substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and shouts:

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few trifles in your room to strengthen him."

[196] The word for "strengthen" is *ɪxkɛkuta*, or *qkəlulitsta*, which means, "shoring up," as if X were wobbling on his chief-like base. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ethereal dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may tell the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for
[203] his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, these are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence means that X's

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Qwaixwos*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80.

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest.

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new

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435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
*556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen
commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
[171] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
[183] Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers
unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes
to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of
a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly
desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal
than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably
common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless
he sells too frequently.

426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the
*556 ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be
thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative.
In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for
this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly
calls together the inhabitants of his own village to rites which
he validates by the distribution of presents, and at which he
also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use
his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
[558] which are given only to men of standing in the community,
must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to
decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind
consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the
transaction. Bestowal of a copper in such circumstances is not
spoken of as an investment present, *kɔ̄lämkusnäm*, but as
änuxop', which has the definite significance of something that
must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of
the copper were $25 before this bestowal, it is now $50, since
the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning
to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in
any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he
cancels $50 by giving it; whereas if he bestows it as *änuxop'*,
announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

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receive $100 in return. The last sum is now the value of the copper. This second bestowal may take place before the owner has paid the $50 that he owes to the original possessor. There is no time limit to Bella Coola debts since it adds to the debtor's prestige to pay off his indebtedness, publicly of course, when his creditor is giving a ceremony of any kind. At every change in ownership announcement is made of the history of the copper and of its value at every stage of its existence. In this way the worth of a copper increases until it is fit to be thrown into the fire after the passing of a dead kinsman. When one that has been used as *ānuxop'* is at last cast into the flames, and later rescued from them, it is customary for the new owner to use it once more as *ānuxop'*. On the other hand, a copper that has been raised to value by the gift of a name, painting, and so forth, is normally again revalued in the same way when rescued from oblivion. There is no definite rule about this; it is only a tendency.

The value of a copper acquired from either a white man or a member of a foreign tribe is equivalent to its purchase price, and can be raised in any one of the ways employed for one that has been thrown into a fire.

In many cases the donor of a potlatch prefers not to be the actual possessor of a copper at the time of the entry of his deceased relative, though he always arranges to obtain one. When the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up and says:

"I have nothing to make bone for my ancestor. Chief So-and-so, please give me your copper."

The chief so called upon transmits the copper with a statement of its value and the recipient throws it into the fire. Nothing is said about repayment, but the transaction has been public and everyone realizes that the chief must repay with 100 per cent interest when the seller gives his next ceremony. In this way the donor is able to use a copper without having had to pay for it at an inconvenient time when he needs all his wealth to give to his foreign guests. A chief often sells a copper

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435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that *556 it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This [432] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods [426] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days, [764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment 435 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that *556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur- [436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of [211] what has been expended; representations of them may be [532] carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only [426] a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described [435] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers.

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights.

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely

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of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when berries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign guests, calls in his neighbours for a *ɬsaok* dance and initiates some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual, described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during the early autumn, while in winter *kusiut* dances take place almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *a'alk* performances, and for another type of rite, *nusäxkämx*.

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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

[1]At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that *xaaoi* costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom.

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585 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are pads to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pelts, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage [533] song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing [424] them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may [426] not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.[4] The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the [535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *kusiut*, *ɔɔaok*, *a'alk*, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is [533] necessary to avoid collisions. The professional droners accompany the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

[4]The reputed origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It [614] is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Hpuuitim* to *Smaiē'ai* is:

"Hello, *Smaiēlaala*! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Hpuuitim obtained this song from his heavenly namesake and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

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to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example:

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Kálíákɨs*."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which *Kálíákɨs* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners confirmed. The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not clearly stated, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were banned from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron, omāluts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ano'likwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

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575 796 532 [171] not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

575 796 534 [237] [422] Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2). The large, cone-shaped form used in *nusuè* ceremonial is replaced in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kusiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony. [429]

575 796 532 [534] [824] In some dances special objects are used in connection with dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden representations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tălio*, which had a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems. It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his patron and displayed through pride.

575 609 796 [648] [123] The usual guests at a performance of the type just summarized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *kusiut* to impress their uninitiated relatives, they are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

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[The Dance of NooKemim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Imaiee-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nuxqulwuista* to await the coming of *Alpuxtim*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nalaxum*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Nuskyum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[718 times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
831 eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
797] that it is almost six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[624 this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
776] patron was *Nuskyum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Nuskyum* is patron for several *Sukaxiat*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
575
790 the *Sucixat* dances begin.
184
It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
424 slight variations, if any. In *Tsimsut* the *Sucixat* who has the
551] prerogative of seeing *Nuskyum* is a certain *Sucalde-i*,* in *Kimsquit*, *Skuldzwaxum*,* and in *Skitsiat*, *Xemtsum*. Although,

[115 *Details of this dance were learned from the father of *Sucalde-i*, who intimated
424 that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
578] referred to the handing of this designation by her father and said that the property
was held behind an entrance to. Minor findings are often created by disputes of this kind.

*Meaning "Ghost Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his canoe, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *Sucixat* names have significances of this type.

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This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ——. Any *haxiut* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on succeeding days is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *haxiut* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals distribute in the usual way. Feasts are features of all *haxiut* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *haxiut* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is quiet. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *haxiut* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

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(c) Brought from above as a present from *Hāmatsa*.
(d) One of the dancer's first encounters.
(e) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching potlatch and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and *hāmatsa*.

599*

an'ki'a Song Used for Reenactment of Kinsquit(a)

A *Kaiyo-tsqulaxa* | *chimsqumsqilaska* | *kimsiwiaxska* | *ca-tsmukqilaxa*
Presently the people who lack prerogatives will envy(*k*) what I possess. Because

dimsumsiyaka | *dem'ki'ayaksi*
it increases unequally, it is *an'ki'a*(*c*).

[wwwwww crossed]

B *Ixsnā'lmax-sdemska* | *Pexpalitxalimat* | *'as'ast'ximmq'*'mis
In the beginning there came down | *Pexpalitxalimat*(*d*) | with his river(*e*).

Ilamsumsyis | *tqmuxqwsimalqumis* | *mmkw-sais*
He owns himself | on the mouth | of the "Heavy One"(*f*).

[wwwwww crossed]

C The last part has been forgotten(*g*).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 30a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) The word *tsqum*, which is translated as envy, is used only for the desire of ancestral prerogatives which can never be obtained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned. [424] [614]
(c) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(d) A name which *Imamas* (I, p. 332) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(e) *Imamas* came down to the Kimsquit River, but the grandiloquent phrasing expresses the sentiment that men and stream came together.
(f) The Kimsquit River is sometimes termed *Wā'mhis* on its name as chief. This designation was obtained by *Imamas* from Bella Bella, with his marriage to a woman of that tribe, and bestowed by him on the river. [103] [424]
(g) This song was used during the winter of 1923-4 and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name *Kimsquitmamas* was lost to a Kimsquit man who failed to return it. The borrower has been dead many years, but when his son proceeded to dance, one of the singers who was related to the original lender refused to take part in the singing. [578] [426] [424]

Pāsyalaxa Song Used for a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *ma-dlapaqla* | *nimdlemtsiyas* | *dimlamdzlada* | *nimmamtsiwalmis*
I have obtained | the ancestral right | which displayed | my forefathers(*b*).

[wwwwww crossed]

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577 edly until complete confidence was established, simplifying
[124] work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy.
[771] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public
626 opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends.
577 In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after
[426] buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced
[602] if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing con-
[177] strains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not
[648] uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who,
[177] according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

153 Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making
124 this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

*192
[424] **alcuckun**: Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Amaklilas: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Amlaus: 1—Supernatural beings who dress as the sun moves.
2—Name of the supernatural woman, *Setsemen-a*, the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by buccal vibration.
Amulalis: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Amulkus: "The Coming of Fruit Weather," in the language of supernatural beings. The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Amus-a: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Alleged chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Aqumtsemkinx: Earlier name of a Bella Coola dance, the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] **Aqunsiut**: Supernatural beings who hinders the sun of the moon at eclipses.
Atsumlis: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an unsung chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Atulis: 1—One of the designations of *Setsemen-a*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, man-insulting, *ulkwilas*.
[526] **ulumyus**: Song consisting of two long vocal words, seven-seven.
[824] **Alyuhulaiyu**: Spruce leaves.
Amaus: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
ayuyumus: Label.
Ahaklalis: 1—One of the first men to settle on Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Pasmaki* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Atmus-a* in the beginning of time.
ahlqlaiyus: Snake supporting witches pole.
[796] **ahlsqlaiyuus**: Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first assembly initiate.
ap*, plural, **amulk*us**: Shovels.
Ahlsimus: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
[588] **alus**: Third part of song.
[577] **alus**: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[821] **a'lus**: Name of an isolated man.
Aqutlus: Supernatural man-eater, parent of Canoebeds.
Aqsaylus: Stick decorated with abalone shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Aqsaylus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
ayus: Appearance.
Ahatsalalus: Boy of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Ahalsimus: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
alyulis: Cannibal.
[377] **alyuslaus**: Marriage with sister of a deceased wife, the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to hyperish*.
Asiaus: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Aiyis: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Aiyisis: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
ani'ayus: The completeness of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[425]
[539]
[574]

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Ala: comic village.

Alo-uk, "On of the Tied-up Feet": Name given to a lad whose ears were depicted in folklore.

[424] [374] *alxamaxdzi:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

alxaqaixmaxs: Ritual carried when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Alxcixsmitsa: Name of a female shaman.

Alxe, "The Opening of the Sky":
1.—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2.—One of the first men to settle at Dean in the beginning of time.
3.—Name of a *Sisaok'a'* chief.

Alxtaxdzitsiz: Ritual name of a Bella Coola man.

Alxtaxmaxmaxs: One of the first men to settle at *Skitsuk* in the beginning of time.

[375] *alxtcxmaxs:* Award having the ability to enter the back-room and exact interest conceded there. The function probably combines the employment of her shield.

[395] *Alxtqaxs:* Hidden, supernatural beings who possess supernatural Cannibals.

alxuxus: Financial loaning of sticks.

Amaxmaxsilas: Wife of *Yaxalidzi,* the supernatural hunter.

Amaxqaxlaxlas: Husband of *Axa'lilaxdzalas,* he is known only to Kimsquit.

[375] *amaxtcxuk:* Ritual dance of mystery.

[374] *amaxtcxumaxs:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

[425] *amaxtcxumaxsmaxs:* Call used by heralds when announcing to a mourning ceremony.

[374] *amaxuxulaxs:* The "Dragging Across" of a canoe, crest, or other intangible property from wife to husband either on marriage or later on a repurchasing of the wife.

[142] *amaxus:* To drag a heavy burden.

[421] *amaxus-ax:* Conferring mixed with shallow grease.

amaxyaxs: Visit to his superiors by a *Sisaok'a'* initiate.

Amaxyilaxs, "Dancing Both Ways": Second name after the crown selation.

amlqaxmaxs, "The Attention Time": Studied assemblage of the *Sisaok'a'* after departure of a Cannibal.

[377] *amxaxlaxs:* Adoption of a person committing the demand to replace the latter.

Amxaxlaxlas:
1.—Supernatural being who carries swords.
2.—Name received by a shaman from this being.

alp: Food.

[425] *alpaxmas,* "Food Supplier": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Apalaxl, "Backwater": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[152] *apaxs:* Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate crowns.

[382] *apaxsik:* Cannibal, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[425] *Apaxsiwas:*
1.—Supernatural name of shamans, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
Apaxsiwas, "A Chosen Descendant": Name given to an *Apaxsiwas* man in the beginning of time.

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Anahlo. Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anahulaw. Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anatsaw yvl, "Labovered": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anawenkas. Name obtained by an *Ahaiskut* man in the beginning of time.
Anaqulaxmas, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Thlequiltlen's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anaxwaklas. Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
Anaxwaxa: 1—Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": Area repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[331] [424] *anaxyl*: Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Anaxlaxwalaxsa. One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *anaxwalaxwa ats*. Earlier profession, as Kwaqsuts tells, of throwing wands on the fire.
Anaxwalaxwayh, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's position.
anaxyaz: 1—Owner of a puppet person.
2—Amounts for disbursements, q.v.
Anaxyilhaitsiu. Supernatural being who rules behavior of their daughter on the Whapass River.
An-ats: 1—Name obtained by one of the four ancients on *Ahaiskut* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
ats: Eastern.
Atsa'a, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the miracles made about his infirm.
Atsalaiz. Atsaid name of a Kwaqsuts man.
[225] [524] [525] *atsaw*: Herring eggs.
atsawalk: Cottonwood.
atsaw: Type of sea-going canoe.
atsaw: Harlequin duck.
Atsetsayaxwaqumas, "The Common Eater": Term used by hearers to Eagle.
Atsetsa'a, "Common Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
aq amamtsy: Canoes lashed together.
Awaw: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] [775] *aw-tla-tl*: 1—Second eldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
awtsimaw: 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title performed by ghosts.
2—Women living in the room.
Ax-tsimaxy. Inhabitants of the village of *Axw*.
[424] *a-tsa-mayhs*: Person with good memory entertained to remember family genealogies.
Axw, "To the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
a'tsaxlak. Totem-pole, literally, "Outside Post."
a'tsaxlaxw. Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
a'tsla'aw. Ceremonial barking at dawn.
[154] [518] *A'tsla'aw'atsa*. Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.
A'tsla'ik. Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

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S

aqwa or aqwal-t: Medicine, generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
a'as: Canoe, term in common usage.
ataxs: Displease or annoy. [601]

T

Tlenalk: Ancestral name of a *Tsaalu* of men.
'tsalalem a: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
tsilaxtsilaxila: Moon, anthropomorphized.

U

Ant chickie: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, the exact official
2—Koeye name of a Bella Coola man.
Antsiti: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida, the word may be a corruption from English.
Ats'a-kula: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
Atsea a: One of the first women to settle at Talleomin Point in the beginning of time. [825]
Awakan: Mythical, supernatural bird.
Awaxa: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwiskc* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Qaiyat* in the beginning of time.
Ayk: Penis.
Ayuk: Cult used by members of the Koeye society to strengthen their fellow members.

I

Ala': Pounded cedar-bark, oralyuk. [824]
Alala: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
Alayat: Translator's dog.
Alkaxa a: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
Alkaxtsa sta xuta: Bandage of oralyuk cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [556]
Alkaxtsa, Bandages: Term applied to presents distributed on validation for the [431]
bringe of a will Cannibal.
Alk: One of the *Tsaalu*-ma.
Amalkwaxtsalaxa: Abbreviated rite of *Nuxlpcam* dance.
Ameme: Nun.
Tamtsilak: Aunak name of a Kwaqaik man.
Amtsalalem, "The Master": Male supernatural child who leaves *Nuxlpcam's* arch.
Amtsaq, "Child Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dance.
Amulal, "Assage": Solid to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the [226]
first taking of these fish.
Amxsnowaxw: Alleged singing of a sound imitator's song by the supernatural being, Mamalilla.
Ap'a-yaxw: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return [424]
of part of it.
Apk: Moss. [824]
Amalkwaxtsalaxa: Polygamy.

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[1]This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalsa-i*.

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Kitlmnxámxm: The chasm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
kitsán: First catamenial discharge.
Kxldr-i: xstámy village.
kxlxta: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.
[756] *Kxlyekhmat:* Shaman who received power from ghosts.
Kxmxlxwalxxtxta: Bella Coola hunter.
[103] *Kxmxkwt,* "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimsquit* has been derived.
Kxndust: Nass River.
Kxnlkxnl: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[825] *kxnts:* 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tálio* woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.
Klxt"amat: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential *Komoyo* chief, who died about 1910.
[825] *Vlax"":* Muskrat.
[824] *kép:* White fir (?).
kmxv-i: Herring.
kmxdjut: Prerogative of biting oneself.
kxnum: Dried salmon.
kxnumdjut: Synonym for *thxkla:* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *kxnum.*
[825] *kokolikum:* Porpoise.
[845] *Koksxlxnm:* Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.
ko'la: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
[824] *Ko'laixntx:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kolulaxo: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).
Kolxrta: Supernatural female shaman who guided *Winwina.*
Kol-ixiyxkmx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
kolta"xlmx, "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.
[533] *kolukmx:* Land, region, earth.
kolulo-x: First part of song.
Kotxxl': Treeless mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.
[825] *Kpupxtustxsilxlx,* "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of coho salmon.
[765] *kpxstxm:* Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
[578] *kpxsnxm:* Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.
[609] *krámkuxsix* or *krámkuxnám:* Synonym for *kxlámkuxnám,* investment-present.[1]
[42] *Kxnxxmxmxmat:* Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *kukpi, nccatix, kukpal:* Grandfather.
kukxtiutk: Kusiut ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
kukx: The construction of salmon-weirs.

[1] This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic *r* sound.

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L

[825] *Lakloklis:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
la·kis: Squirrel.
Laqwomais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qemqe·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Lawiyas·i':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'qyls: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalamsk: *Suaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimkila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Smalali* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalemkila.*
Lalemkila: Another name for *Twalalit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimkila.*
[825] *Lilixwmlaix:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *lipljudzils:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *lisdjut:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *lisliwadjut,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
listmax: Wrestling or shoving.
lilstom: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Lo·qwe·t: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
lulusta: Mask.
luts: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

Ł

Łatwatila: Tsawat man living in the beginning of time.
Łałaiuks: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[823] *łalia:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Łaliaiuts: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Łaliałał: Copper cane acquired by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Łaliehs: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Satlis,* in the beginning of time.
Łaliekdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Łaliaks: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Łaliamx: *Suaok* name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Alqałał* in the beginning of time.
Łaliaus, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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nixɔ̀ɔsta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixɬ: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmɬy or nmɬpɔ̀mut: First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate.

mmmk: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nniwwnaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Nnɔ̀kila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snaioli* in the beginning of time.

Nnɔ̀kmm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nnomtxaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Sixkiut* in the beginning of time.

nɔ̀kista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nɔ̀ɬɔ̀kta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nɔ̀mmk: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nnɔ̀ɔ̀jmɔ̀ɔ̀stɔm: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

nɔ'ɔ̀nɔ̀ɔ̀m: 1—Ceremony at which *nɔ̀ɔ̀k* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

nɔ'ɔ̀ndjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

Nɔ-ɬɔ̀ɔ̀m, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyɔ̀ɬɔ̀m* name given to a deserting wife.

Nnɔ̀kila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nɔ̀mlxibɔ̀ɬɔ̀m: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nnɔ̀iyɔ̀ɔ: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nnɔ̀ɬɔ̀lɔ̀mm: Synonym for *Nnɔ̀kmm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nɔ'ɔ̀ɔ̀s, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nɔ̀ɬpɔ̀ɔ̀ɬa: Toilet-hole.

nnɔ̀ɔ̀ɬa: Birth.

Nnɔ̀kɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [821]

nɔ̀ɔ̀k-ɔ̀n: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nɔ̀ɔ̀k-ɔ̀n du ìhmsta: 1—High tide.
2—Long life. [823]

nɔ̀djɔ̀ɔ̀sta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nɔ'ɔ̀mɔ̀ɬ, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nnɔ̀k": 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nnɔ̀kmɔ̀ɬɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ: Synonym for *Sximximɔ̀t,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nɔ̀ɬɔ̀ɬ: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nɔ̀kɔ̀mɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀mɔ̀m: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nɔ̀kɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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Nuɬaɬaɬam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nuɬaɬa: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nuɬaɬem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *ɬaɬiat* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nuɬaɬemiɬ': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
Nuɬiadji: Ancestral name of a *Sisaɬ* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
nuɬkila ɬta: 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nuɬsiɬ, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nuɬɬuɬsaɬdjas, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Nuɬɬqumaɬɬ di mas', "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nuɬɬlamaɬam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nuɬɬqumm*'s departure to warn *ɬaɬaziat* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nuɬuɬuɬɬ, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
nuɬsym: Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nuɬiɬqɬaɬk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nuɬsiɬsmaɬkɬa: One of the first women to settle at *Tăl-is* in the beginning of time.
nuɬmɬmaɬkɬas: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nuɬkiɬ: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nuɬɬmaɬkɬas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nuɬmɬmaɬkɬas.*
nuɬmaɬɬmax: Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nuɬoɬstaɬɬ-ɬsta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nɬaɬ* head-dress.
nuɬɬ: Landslide, such as is caused by *Tsuɬaɬiɬ or ɬsiɬaɬ.*
Nuɬqaɬaɬs: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nuɬqsuɬ* in the beginning of time.
nuɬɬqaɬa, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nuɬɬqɬaɬas: House-posts nearest to front door.
nuɬhaɬɬa: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
nuɬɬmaɬmaɬmam, "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nuɬsaɬjim: Cry uttered by a *nɬaɬ* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nɬaɬ* novices.
nuɬsiɬqaɬɬaɬa: The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nɬaɬ* novice.
nuɬsmaɬkɬaɬ: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
numaɬkɬaɬ: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Numaw-ut, "Place of Fire": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisau'ĸH. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'E-la'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Talo'stimōt of the Talio'mH, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother wil give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probly give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'siūt name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsius name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'slu'sta's (which is his Kū'siūt name) present Qē'mtsius name is Atl'itlemas'las'ais, but athis next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalit'kis. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'siūt names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtsius names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'ĸH secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisau'ĸH secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'ĸH secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisau'ĸH carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kā'siūt is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaūlikūtsai'H. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaūlikūtsai'a invited her into her cave and taught

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575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
776 seen Auaûlikûtsai'ɪ sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisaû'kɪl dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[426] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through
[551] an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akō'otl.

I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisaû'kɪl, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ɬlaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lɛq (the Nû'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'tia (the Nō'ntaistatl of the Hē'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the ɬlaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
787 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any-
[266] one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed, in order to serve as food for the ɬlaqō'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ɬlaqō'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the gens Ialō'stimōt of the Talō'mx·, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'sint name, which remains through life, and a Xē'mtsioa name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nuak'Elu'sta's (which is his kū'sint name) Xē'mtsioa name was AL'ILEMNE'lus'aix·, but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kalia'kis. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisan'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisan'k· *secrets to her husband*, as *his children* make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisan'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the sisan'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The kū'sint is presided over by a female spirit, called Anañlikuta'ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anañlikuta'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'sint. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'sint. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'sint." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'sint. When a man has seen Anaālikuta'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'sint. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'sint lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kū'sint are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'sint is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'sint name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'sint have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Elaxō'La (the hā'mata'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lEx (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalal of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'sint novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the Elaxō'La is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Elaxō'La. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Elaxō'La order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]